New South

- **A Solid South . . . Or Else**
  Marge Manderson
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**
- **Floyd Makes Calm History**

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New South Notes

Many people today think of the desegregation controversy only in terms of Negroes and civil rights. But an equally important area is the resulting suppression of our traditional civil liberties including freedom of expression, belief, privacy, association, and others. The die-hard campaign to resist desegregation has resulted in many Southern states and cities of the loss of these liberties, not only for the Negro, but for white persons. The suppression of some of these liberties not only has affected the liberal white, but it also has hit the moderate and sometimes the conservative white.

In this issue of NEW SOUTH, Miss Marge Manderson, Research Assistant of the Southern Regional Council, documents the rise of attempts to suppress civil liberties in the South since the Supreme Court school decisions. Miss Manderson takes into account efforts of this type by individuals and private groups as well as state legislatures and officials.

In Virginia, Floyd County recently began desegregation of its high school in a quiet, calm manner unlike some of the earlier cities in the Old Dominion State. The *Roanoke, Va., World News* took note of this event and called for the same calm acceptance by other Virginia communities faced with a similar problem. The editorial, printed here, could be expanded to include the entire South.

Concluding this issue is another "Highlights from Recent Literature," which includes information concerning several new pamphlets of interest to the student of human relations.

SEGREGATIONISTS' AIM

A Solid South . . . Or Else

By Marge Manderson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council

The farcical aspects of recent attempts to ban several children's books should not be allowed to obscure the very real, bone-deep sickness of which they are a manifestation. Despite the irrationality of charges against it, *The Rabbits Wedding* has been withdrawn from general circulation by the Alabama state library service. Its illustrator had "mixed" a rabbit couple; one was dark, the other light. *Time*, *Life*, and *Look* magazines have received like treatment in various sections of the South in recent years. The three were banned from school libraries in Claiborne and Bossier Parishes, Louisiana. Their offense was "distortion" of the racial issue. An Alabama circuit judge issued temporary restraining orders prohibiting the sale and distribution of *Look* magazine in August 1959, on grounds that it distorted the truth in racial matters. The Georgia Board of Education recently voted to require approval of all library books by its literary committee, after a Board member warned that pro-integration literature was reaching school libraries. And in the 1959 session of the Alabama legislature, a racial screening committee agreed to support a bill the "purpose and intent" of which, according to the committee chairman, was to "get rid of" the state library director, Emily Reed. The library service under her direction had distributed a list of notable books, compiled by the American Library Association; the list included *Stride Toward Freedom*, by Martin Luther King, Jr. Miss Reed subsequently resigned, and moved away from Alabama.

In fitting climax to this sorry record, a children's fairy story was in 1959 nearly banned from Louisiana libraries because of the admixture of colors in its title, *Black and White*. Perhaps this incident stretched the permissiveness of rational Southerners to its limits; it is often the ludicrous, the extreme (and sometimes the tragic), which arouses the region's slumbering forces of reason. Among protesters were the *Shreveport Times* and the *Arkansas Gazette*.

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(Continued)

"Censorship of the right to know, of the right to read and think and judge . . . is the breeding ground of oppression, the fertilizer of bigotry," wrote the *Times*. But more abstract implications of this appalling incident were sounded by the *Arkansas Gazette*. That paper wrote, "The censor and book-burners are as old as the written word itself. They flourish best under totalitarian systems and every governmental system which yields to their pressures becomes infected with the totalitarian virus in like degree."

The *Gazette's* diagnosis lends itself to extension: every governmental system which yields to pressures for the denial of any existing liberty becomes infected with the totalitarian virus, and in like degree.

It is apparent that the infection is widespread in the South today. Frenzied, panicked in its efforts to resist desegregation, defiance in the region has demanded unanimous support. With truly Procrustean methods, it has suppressed dissent. Heedlessly, a right has been hewn here, a liberty stretched shapeless there, to fit the body of Southern thought into the narrow confines of defiance.

If it is true that governmental systems yielding to the suppression of existing liberties become infected with totalitarianism in like degree, it then follows that the measure of the growth of totalitarianism lies in an assessment of liberties denied. The individual's right to read what he wishes has been restricted in some Southern states. What other violations of existing liberties have we in the South allowed?

IN THE LEGISLATURES

1. Laws Inhibiting Support of Desegregation

Legislative suppressions are the simplest to document. Of the hundreds of new laws and resolutions Southern legislative bodies have adopted in order to impede or limit desegregation in the schools—some 230 is the present count —at least one-fifth have had one punitive intent: to muzzle and bind individual proponents of desegregation, or the groups organized to pursue that objective. This purpose is frequently admitted. The Attorney General of Arkansas, for example, has said of Act 115 of 1959: "This act was designed to harass the NAACP and it has accomplished its purpose . . . I've cost them a lot of money and memberships."

The enactments — frequently called "anti-NAACP" laws—are of four distinct types:

(1) Statutes requiring certain organizations to disclose, generally to public scrutiny, names of members and contributors, and other information, have been passed in Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The *modus operandi* of these laws is the requirement that certain organizations register extensive information with state authorities; their identifying mark is, of course, the extreme hardship compliance works, particularly in states in which known opponents of segregation might be subject to reprisal and harassment.

(2) Four states have enacted legislation relating to public employees' ad-

vocacy of desegregation and their membership in organizations which support desegregation: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. In Arkansas and Mississippi, public school employees, and in South Carolina, all public employees, are required to disclose the identity of organizations to which they belong currently or, in the case of Arkansas and Mississippi, have been members of in the past five years. The disclosure of organizations to which the same persons have contributed is similarly required in Arkansas and Mississippi. Louisiana prohibits teachers and school bus operators from advocating or doing any act toward bringing about racial integration in public educational institutions. Such employees are also prohibited from belonging or contributing to organizations that cannot legally operate in the state.[1] (Two additional regulations have been passed but are no longer in effect: Arkansas' Act 115, of 1959, which made unlawful the employment of members of the NAACP by the state or any school district, was found to be unconstitutional by the first court to consider it; a 1956 South Carolina enactment, also prohibiting state employment of NAACP members, was repealed in 1957.)

Act 10 of the 1958 Arkansas legislative session demonstrates the efficacy of the membership disclosure requirement. Citizens Council members in the state announced after the Act was passed that they would make sure of its enforcement by photostating the affidavits required of public employees. Public protest of Act 10—notably by University of Arkansas trustees, faculty, and students — enabled Governor Faubus to brand protesters as suspect: "Those who object to signing leave the impression that they must have belonged—or do belong—to some organization that is not too popular with the public." Failure or refusal to comply with the statute caused the dismissal of some Arkansas teachers (several members of the University of Arkansas faculty were among them, while 5 of the 44 elementary and secondary school employees "purged" by three members of the Little Rock School Board in May 1959, ostensibly were dismissed because they did not sign membership affidavits), but its prime accomplishment probably was that expressed by Capital Citizens Council president Dr. Malcom Taylor. Act 10, he said, has "already proved to be a good law by throwing consternation into the ranks of the professors at the University of Arkansas." Yet, the constitutionality of the statute was upheld by a three-judge federal court in mid-1959, because it does not make past or present membership grounds for dismissal or a bar to employment. The Supreme Court has agreed to review this decision.

(3) Legislative committees or specially formed agencies empowered to investigate certain persons, activities, and organizations have been created in Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee,

[1] *Under a 1924 law, any organization operating in the state, other than churches and national guard organizations, which fails to file annually with the Secretary of State a list of its members may be enjoined from operating in Louisiana. This law had originally been aimed at the KKK, a good example of the old truth that laws directed against one opinion or activity may tomorrow hit their opposites.*

Solid South

(Continued)

and Virginia. Hearings, for such purposes as "to find the causes of racial unrest in the South,"[2] have been held in all of these states but Georgia.

The legislative investigating committees have sometimes concerned themselves with the extraction of membership data, but character defamation appears to be their more usual aim. Louisiana, in a typical attempt to serve both ends, has investigated "pro-integration sentiment" within state colleges. One facet of the investigation was the requirement that signators of an American Civil Liberties Union petition opposing the closing of public schools complete a questionnaire which included (along with questions about belief and advocacy of integration) questions concerning membership in several pro-desegregation organizations and, inevitably, the Communist Party. In their public hearings as well, the legislative committees have consistently attempted to equate desegregation with Communism,[3] not infrequently by the use of "professional" witnesses such as Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson, and J. B. Matthews.

Sometimes the methods of character assassination employed by these investigatory bodies have been more personal, and even more invidious. Among the questions asked of a witness in the course of a public investigation of Tennessee's Highlander Folk School was, "Did you ever see any free-love going on over there?" Florida's Johns Committee, investigating alleged homosexuality among the faculty at the University of Florida, has so far caused the dismissal of 15 staff members of the University, public school teachers, and state employees. Observers believe the ostensible aim of the probe was merely a pretext to deter desegregation.

In both Florida and Virginia, the authority of state committees has been challenged. Florida's Supreme Court upheld the mandate of a legislative committee to inquire into the possibility of seditious conduct in the state so long as it did not engage in "witch hunts," and in June 1959, the U. S. Supreme Court declined to review the decision by a vote of 6-3. In November 1959, contempt action was initiated against three NAACP representatives who refused to cooperate with a subsequent hearing investigating "suspected Communist infiltration of the Florida NAACP." The Virginia case resulted from the contempt conviction of an officer in a local Council on Human Relations, David H. Scull, for his refusal to answer questions asked by the state Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities (on grounds that they invaded his First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and petition). The Supreme Court reversed, on the ground that the pertinency of the questions had not been explained to Scull. The decision did not reach the issue of First Amendment freedoms; it did, however, note that it was "unmistakably clear" that the investigation had

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[2]*Louisiana, Rainach Committee, April 1957.*

[3]*In this connection, it should surprise almost no one that the latest addition to the segregationist working vocabulary has been lifted from the area of international relations. It is "containment," used as a synonym for "token desegregation."*

touched those areas, areas which previously had been held inviolable "unless a compelling state interest is clearly shown." A footnote added that four justices think no state interest could justify infringement of those rights. Clearly, if the new Florida contempt citation reaches the Supreme Court, the decision will be of major importance.

Multipowered, specially created agencies, staffed not by legislators but by state employed personnel, have, in several of the Southern states, utilized methods even more questionable than those of State Committees. Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, for example, created "for the maintenance of segregation," has an investigation division, employing secret investigators and agents as its "eyes and ears." The Georgia Education Commission, which was established for the purpose of finding means to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court school desegregation decisions, has "infiltrated" interracial meetings with an "undercover agent,"[4] a photographer.

(4) Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia have adopted statutes relating to the common law offenses of barratry, champerty, maintenance, and running and capping, all having to do with the fomenting of litigation. They are openly designed to hamstring organizational support of litigation to enforce constitutional rights. The NAACP is, of course, the obvious target. (In 1958, a 3-judge federal district court found the Virginia barratry and registration laws unconstitutional; in 1959, the Supreme Court set aside the judgment, holding that the constitutional question would not be decided until the state courts had had a chance to rule on the laws.)

In addition, licensing fees and other restrictions on persons soliciting membership in some types of organizations have been approved by state legislatures and are now in effect in several localities.

The dubious constitutionality of a number of these "anti-NAACP" laws has provoked the publication of a body of critical, legalistic consideration, a partial bibliography of which may be found on Page 14 of this issue. Litigation has been brought against the enforcement of a number of the laws; in no instance has legality been upheld on appeal.

2. Emergency Powers

There are yet other legislative enactments now common in Southern states which have a dangerous potential. Amorphous "emergency acts" have been approved in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. The governor is empowered in all three states "to order and direct any individual person, corporation, association, or group of persons to do any act which would, in his opinion, prevent [and, in South Carolina, "minimize"] danger to life, limb or property, prevent a breach of the peace;" or he

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[4] *So described by the then director T. V. Williams, Jr. Two such organizational meetings which the state-employed photographer "infiltrated" were a workshop of Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, and a meeting of the Georgia Council of Churches. The Commission later printed and distributed several hundred thousand of the photographs. The Georgia Education Commission was abolished in 1959, after some five years of existence, and replaced by a Commission on Constitutional Government, whose purpose is to recommend action to prevent "encroachment" by the federal government.*

may order the same subjects to refrain from any act or thing which would, in his opinion, endanger the peace and good order of society. The mandate of these laws, as the American Jewish Congress has remarked in its study, *Assault Upon Freedom of Association*, enables the governor to declare an emergency, "if any effort is made to bring about integration of a school or if the NAACP seeks to hold a peaceful public meeting. He would then have power to disband or cancel the meeting or order the integration stopped . . . [The statutes'] terms are so sweeping that the governor can halt any organizational activity, including union meetings and organizing campaigns." The ease with which such powers can be assumed is indicated by the laws enacted in the Arkansas legislature's 1958 extraordinary session, no less than 14 of which include the words, "An emergency is declared to exist."

3. Pupil Placement Criteria

And in a third area of legislation, a startling potential for the violation of a popularly conceived liberty has been authorized. The majority of the above mentioned statutes disregard the right of privacy, but the strangest implement for privacy's abuse is provided by the pupil placement measures now on the statute books of 10 states. Among the standard criteria governing a pupil's assignment to a given school are: "the morals, conduct, health, and personal standards of the pupil . . . the home environment of the pupil . . . the psychological qualification of the pupil for the type of teaching and associations involved." Scrupulous application of these standards would require personal investigation so extensive that it staggers the imagination. To the knowledge of this writer, no critical analysis of the implications of such criteria has been published, nor did the NAACP brief challenging the Alabama placement law, whose on-the-face legality the Supreme Court upheld, contend a violation of personal privacy. Further investigation would appear to be in order, for, as has been said by Joseph B. Robison, "privacy has a legitimate place in the American scheme of things and is entitled to respect by the government."[5]

THROUGH EXISTING LAWS AND POWERS

But it is without the benefit of special new legislation that many Southern states have most effectively suppressed dissent to the racist "line." The application of existing laws, and the regulatory power of public officials and office holders have provided adequate bludgeons.

1. Existing Laws

To illustrate the first method, in 1956 Alabama invoked its corporation and tax laws against the NAACP and obtained an injunction against further activities of that organization within the state. Although in June 1958, the Supreme Court unanimously declared in favor of the Association, holding that, "It is beyond debate that freedom to en-

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[5] *"Protection of Associations From Compulsory Disclosure of Membership," Columbia Law Review, May, 1958, p. 614.*

gage in association for the advancement of beliefs and ideas is an inseparable aspect of the 'liberty' assured by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which embraces freedom of speech," the state has thus far refused to be bound by the decision (on grounds that the Association had failed to yield records other than the membership lists held to be inviolable by the court), and the NAACP is still unable to function. Georgia, in 1956, obtained a court order requiring the production of records of the state branch of the NAACP, and charged it with over $17,000 in back taxes. Louisiana, in the same year, invoked a thirty-two-year-old Ku Klux Klan Act, which had never before been used, and enjoined further operations of the NAACP until membership lists were filed with the state. (See footnote #1). Texas has similarly hampered operation of the Association on the basis of earlier corporation and tax laws.

Existing laws are also utilized against individuals. A local ordinance forbidding publication of "intemperate matter tending to provoke a breach of the peace" was the ground on which, in 1959, a Bessemer, Alabama, Negro civic leader, Asbury Howard, received a six months' sentence after having caused a poster to be printed encouraging Negro voting registration. Four Highlander Folk School teachers were arrested during the same year, one on charges of the illegal possession of liquor," three others for "resisting arrest."

2. Extra-legal Regulations

Non-legislative regulations and the threat of job termination are, of course, forceful methods of coercing the public employee's compliance with state policy. To this end, oaths to uphold the state constitution are now required in several of the Southern states whose constitutions require segregation in public schools. The oath required of public school teachers in Georgia, for example, pledges the signator to "uphold, support, and defend the constitution and laws of Georgia" as well as the (conflicting) constitution and laws of the United States. No salary may be paid until the oath is sworn.

Other examples of restrictive regulation are provided by Georgia. In 1955, the Board of Education adopted a set of resolutions to the effect that any teacher who "supports, encourages, condones, or agrees to teach" racially mixed classes, and any teacher belonging to the NAACP or any "allied" organization would have his or her license revoked "forever." After strong public protest (even some prosegregation newspapers recognized that the resolutions were "dangerous to democracy" and "a most serious restriction on freedom of speech"[6]), the State Board rescinded the resolutions, but announced that the required oath to support the state constitution, with enforcement in the hands of local authorities, would be an adequate substitute. In Georgia, public school teachers are also required to list the organizations in which they hold membership. According to an official of one of the state's teachers' organizations, no person, Negro or white, would dare list membership in the NAACP. (Only recently, the official reported in an inter-

[6] *The first quotation is from the Macon* News, *the second from the Augusta* Herald, *as reported in* Southern School News, *August, 1955.*

view, a highly qualified teacher was accepted and processed for employment, but rejected when the Association was found to be among his memberships.) Rumors prevail that "spies" are employed by the state to inform on teachers holding NAACP memberships; whether they are based in fact or not, they exercise a restrictive influence on the freedom of the public school teacher in Georgia to belong to the NAACP.

A "speaker screening" requirement is one of the forms of pressure Mississippi officials impose on college activities. Speakers for college programs must be screened by a process which, at the University of Mississippi, works in this fashion: a speaker is suggested through the usual administrative channels; his name is sent to the Americanism Committee of the American Legion in Washington, D. C.; the name is checked against a list of about 17,000 "suspect" organizations filed there. If the person has belonged or contributed to any of these groups, at any time in his life, he is not likely to be permitted to speak. Several cancellations have resulted from this policy, among them, an invitation to an Ohio Episcopal Minister, the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, to appear on the 1956 Religious Emphasis Week Program. Mr. Kershaw avowedly belonged to the NAACP.

THROUGH PUBLIC PRESSURE

Another level of attack on individual liberties is characterized by organized public pressure. Self-appointed vigilante groups—the Citizens Council and the various Klan groups are the most notorious—are an important reinforcement to the states in their efforts to force conformity to the "right thinking" Southerner's segregationist position. The resistance groups have mimicked the state-devised strategy of exposure and intimidation; they frequently have received the sanction and support of public officials. With the cooperation of the Shreveport school board, a Citizens Council recently distributed questionnaires to public school teachers in that Louisiana city, requiring a statement of views on segregation. In Alabama, threats and intimidation by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the Citizens Council forced the resignation of the director of Tuscaloosa's Hale Memorial Hospital several months ago. (The pressures grew out of charges that white nurses were required to serve Negro patients.) Local authority, in the person of the county probate judge, entreated the director to leave the city, "for his own safety."

Significantly, as the barriers of legislative impediment have yielded to court ordered desegregation, political leaders in the Deep South have more openly urged coercion by individuals and groups. In Georgia, where a school closing crisis is in the offing, the state attorney general has offered this proposal as a "constructive suggestion," to a group organized to preserve the state's public schools: approach the NAACP and attempt to make them drop the suit.[7] State Judge Durwood Pye has called for development of "unified pub-

[7] *Atlanta Journal*, 6/10/59.

lic sentiment against litigation" to force withdrawal of school suits in Georgia. These open-ended statements, which inevitably will be interpreted as a state nod to various forms of coercion, suggest that individual and group pressure is to be the Deep South's "last resort" weapon—but at what further price to the liberties of individual Southerners?

SOUTHERNERS WHO YIELD

Too many Southerners have demonstrated a certain aptitude for shrinking or stretching themselves to the shape of the segregationist Procrustean bed and there, though cramped, they have apparently settled down for a long, unmindful nap. Hodding Carter once observed that "the ability of the individual to think for himself has virtually disappeared among whites in the deep South because of the integration question" and unquestionably, among this one segment of Southern society at least, Carter's condemnation is warranted. Even in the larger region there are evidences of willingness to yield to, rather than challenge, pressures for total conformity. In Southern colleges and universities, for example, the programs of research and inquiry have with few exceptions skirted what is probably the most important social issue this country has confronted within the present century. Faculty members of these schools have often, out of understandable concern for their jobs, declined to assist in research programs outside academic quarters (a fact the Southern Regional Council can attest to). The South's white newspapers find it safe to span only half a spectrum of editorial opinion, from "moderate" to rock-ribbed segregationist. Religious leaders in the region, although more forthright in their expressions than other opinion leaders, plead for "open schools," "open lines of communication," but only rarely for the elimination of segregation.

But during recent months there have been significant stirrings in the region. Among Negro Southerners, they have been of a particularly provocative nature: the student-led protest movement. Among white Southerners a salutary self-interest has increasingly manifested itself, and has begun to exercise a countervailing push on the pressures for all-out defiance. Its most apparent forms have been, thus far, a dedication to public education, and a concern for continued economic progress. But a third matter of overwhelming self-interest has gone largely unmarked and unguarded: the subject of our inquiry here. We are denied our traditional liberties; the freedoms of expression, of belief, of privacy, and of association, the freedom from punishment without trial, the freedom to teach, the freedom to read what one wishes, and the freedom to learn are among the rights already abused by the forces of defiance. It can be truthfully observed that, in sections of the South, liberty itself is endangered by an ugly manifestation of totalitarian spirit. Perhaps we should take a lesson from the Procrustes legend. Procrustes, it will be remembered, maimed his victims only to make them defenseless; then they were robbed.

BOOKS and PAMPHLETS

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

"CAN WE AFFORD TO CLOSE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS?" A statement issued by 33 Southern Educators, in pamphlet form. Available from the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, at no cost. 12 pp.

Undergirding and guaranteeing our way of life is our system of free public education. Without it, our democratic society would collapse. If the public schools were closed and a system of private schools undertaken, among the consequences would be the loss of democratic freedom, for education for all people is the principal institution designed to preserve a democratic form of government. With compulsory attendance laws repealed and schools not available for many of our youth the labor market will be flooded with unskilled and untrained young people seeking employment. Hundreds of school age boys and girls will drift into crime and delinquency. Damage to our economy can be expected, for there is a direct relationship between the level of education and economic well being of a community. Further consequences include: damage to our teacher supply; damage to the taxpayers; loss to the individual child; loss of future scientists and mathematicians; loss of leaders. When we understand what we would lose if the public schools were closed, a way will be found to keep them open.

* * *

American Jewish Congress. THE MYTHS OF RACIAL INTEGRATION. Pamphlet, available from AJC, 15 East 84th Street, New York 28, New York. 16 pp.

Panic selling, not racial integration in housing, causes a decline in property values, and a community that will not be panicked or misled by hysteria has nothing to fear economically from integration in housing.

An examination of interracial housing developments and interracial neighborhoods proves that Negroes maintain their property as well or better than their white neighbors.

Intermarriage will not necessarily increase if Negroes and whites live in the same neighborhoods or go to the same schools. Leading psychologists, psychiatrists and sociologists support this conclusion.

Negro and Puerto Rican children are not biologically less intelligent than white children; however, segregation and discrimination have lowered their aspiration, social morale and their incentive to learn. A genuine integration program, therefore, makes provision to reduce this gap wherever it exists, resulting in improved educational standards for all children.

These conclusions, and the latest sociological, anthropological and other scientific research which supports them, are among those presented by this pamphlet in answer to some of the "imaginary fears" and "myths" frequently raised during group discussions on integration.

* * *

Notre Dame Lawyer, 1959 Symposium, "THE PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF DESEGREGATION." Published by Notre Dame Law School, Box 586, Notre Dame, Indiana. $1.50.

The purpose of this Symposium is to concentrate on the practical problems arising from the Supreme Court decisions in the school integration cases and on the responsibilities, in relation to these problems, of public officials, of the churches, of educators and school administrators, of the Negro community and of the legal profession. The twelve contributors approach the issue with the intent of illuminating the problems involved and making practical suggestions for their solution. A student analysis of the legal framework of desegregation, its implementation, and some counter measures to desegregation—school closing and grant plans, pupil assignment plans, gerrymandering school districts, etc. is included. Contributors to the "problems and responsibilities" section are: John Sherman Cooper, Theodore R. McKeldin, William B. Hartsfield, Albert T. Mollegan, J. J. Murray, Vincent S. Waters, Carl F. Hansen, Omer Carmichael, John Harvey Wheeler, Jr., Rufus Clement, George M. Johnson, and Howard C. Westwood.

* * *

New South also presents brief reports on two new bibliographical publications:

Tumin, Melvin M. "SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION, A DIGEST OF RECENT RESEARCH, 1956-1959." Supplement. Published by the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. 60c per copy. 32 pp.

A valuable supplement to Tumin's 1957 publication, which contains selected material from professional journals, theses, unpublished manuscripts, studies, and papers delivered at professional meetings during 1956-1959 on various aspects of segregation and desegregation.

* * *

The Council on Human Relations. RESOURCE HANDBOOK IN HUMAN RELATIONS. May be ordered from The Council on Human Relations, 281 The Arcade, Cleveland 14, Ohio. 75 pp., $1.00 per single copy.

A listing of resource materials for public and private agencies in the Human Relations field which will perhaps be most useful for programming in schools, colleges, churches, synagogues, clubs, and civic groups. The intergroup organization member or staffer may be at least befuddled by the amorphous selection of resource materials, which encompasses Anton Dvorak's Symphony No. 5, Paul Bowles' "The Sheltering Sky," Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan," and the poetry of Francois Villion as well as the standard items. Brief annotations accompany the selections.

FLOYD MAKES CALM HISTORY

The Roanoke World-News
January 26, 1960

The quiet, orderly, almost unostentatious manner in which 13 Negro children were integrated into white high schools of Floyd County yesterday is a credit to all concerned—pupils, parents and teachers. It was in strange contrast to the tensions which accompanied court-forced mixing at Norfolk, Front Royal, Alexandria and Charlottesville last year.

Guided by the Floyd School Board and Supt. of Schools James H. Combs, everyone in the county appears to have made a conscious effort to prepare for the inevitable since Judge Roby C. Thompson's order was handed down last September. It was generally recognized that abolishment of all public schools to avoid integration simply didn't make sense.

And so there began a period of training and preparation on the part of white pupils that is without parallel in the state. The result was that boys and girls behaved with exemplary reserve and caution. Neither was there any demonstration of protest or resentment by their elders.

This does not mean, of course, that integration was welcome. It does mean that the people of Floyd, good solid citizens that they are, were aware there was no other course. They bowed to the power of the federal courts.

Floyd had no adequate defense for continuing segregation because it had no Negro high school. White citizens could find no basis to justify colored children being forced to travel 70 miles a day to school in another county.

What happened at Floyd and Check High Schools yesterday is certain to be repeated eventually in many other counties of Southwest Virginia. When the time comes, we feel confident they will meet the decision with the same calm and good sense shown by Floyd people yesterday.

FOR FURTHER READING

1. "Assault Upon Freedom of Association," American Jewish Congress, New York City, 1957.
2. "Freedom of Association," Reference, Race Relations Law Reporter, Vol. 4, No. 1.
3. "McCarthyism Under the Magnolias," Dykeman, Wilma & Stokely, James; *The Progressive*, July 1959.
4. "Protection of Associations From Compulsory Disclosure of Membership," Robison, Joseph B.; *Columbia Law Review*, May 1958, Vol. 58.
5. "Racial Integration and Academic Freedom," a study by the Arthur Garfield Hays Memorial Fund, *New York University Law Review*, May 1959, Vol. 34, No. 5.
6. "The Repression of Civil Rights as an Aftermath of the School Segregation Decision," McKay, Robert B., *Howard Law Journal*, January 1958, Vol. 4, No. 1.
7. "The South Counterattacks: The Anti-NAACP Laws," Murphy, Walter F.; *The Western Political Quarterly*, June 1959, Vol. XII, No. 2.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Today, the right to vote in most of America is almost universal. Property qualifications have been eliminated save for token poll taxes, and women have won the right to the ballot. Indeed, the lag in Negro voting in some sections of the South is almost the sole remaining disfiguring blot on a record of which to be proud. By this margin do we still fall short of our goal."

Dr. John A. Hannah
Chairman, U. S. Commission
on Civil Rights,
Quoted in *Washington Post*

* * *

"It is not enough to abstain from violence against the Negro or to accept the theory that he has equal rights. Positive group efforts must be taken to help him find his just place among the self-reliant citizens of the United States."

Father John Murphy
Quoted in *Work*

* * *

"Now is the time for Negroes to close ranks and fight for their civil liberties just as Arkansas national guardsmen closed ranks on Negro children attempting to enter Central High School in Little Rock in 1956."

Mrs. Daisy Bates, President,
Arkansas, NAACP,
Quoted in *Chattanooga Times*

". . . But in North Carolina we need not and should not depend upon Congress. We can and should eliminate any question of voting discrimination anywhere in North Carolina under the present laws of our state."

McNeill Smith, Chairman,
N. C. Civil Rights Advisory
Committee,
Quoted in *Durham Morning Herald*

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"If decent human relations can be worked out anywhere in the world between two very different races, it ought to be possible to do that in the South. Roger L. Shinn writes in *Christianity and Crisis*, "The South remains the region of the country that cultivates personal relations above all others.' "

Frances Pickens Miller
Member, Central Committee,
World Council of Churches,
Quoted in *World Call*

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"The problem of race relations is part of the problem of the rights of man. The society whose members respect and guard the dignity and ineffable worth of individual man is the good society. It would be wonderful if we could banish forever that phrase 'race relations,' and think solely of human relations: of man's relation to man."

Erwin D. Canham, Editor,
Christian Science Monitor,
Quoted in *Open Forum*